

# SOCIALISTS AND THE COLONIES

# Venture

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## Comment

### MERDEKA

**M**ALAYA will be the first *democratic* multi-racial society to join the Commonwealth. The Federation will receive a warm welcome from the Asian members and from Great Britain.

Agreement has been reached between the U.K. Government, the Malay Rulers and the Federation Government on the new constitution, which is largely based on the report of the Reid Commission. The White Paper will not be published until the middle of July. Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Chief Minister, has spoken on the decisions taken on the controversial issue of citizenship. 'After independence, there will be only one loyalty in the Federation, and anyone taking the oath of federal citizenship will have to renounce allegiance to any other country!'<sup>1</sup> The Tunku has accepted that the Queen's Chinese of the Settlements of Penang and Malacca, who are British subjects, will retain their status though they will automatically become Malayan citizens after Merdeka. Since Malaya will join the Commonwealth, 'all citizens will enjoy the status of Commonwealth citizenship, but if any citizen voluntarily claims and acquires the rights and privileges of any other country he can be deprived of Federation citizenship.'<sup>1</sup> It is still not clear how far the Chief Minister's pronouncement solves the question of the dual nationality of the Chinese. To acquire federal citizenship they will have to make a personal declaration to abjure any other nationality and allegiance to any other country. But such a declaration will have only a moral force since, historically, by Chinese law, all overseas Chinese have remained citizens of China, whatever other nationality they may have adopted. In view of the Tunku's statement, presumably any Chinese visiting China without the permission of the

Federation Government, would lose his federal citizenship. The recent refusal to allow a trade union delegation to accept a May Day invitation from Peking is in line with the policy of having no relations with Communist countries while the Federation is actively fighting communism. Any agreement on the lines of the Sino-Indonesian Treaty on Dual Nationality, signed after the Bandung Conference in 1955, would presumably have to await the end of the Emergency.

The Rulers have made known their determination to maintain their existing rights over ownership of land in the Malay States which is formally vested in the Ruler and alienated only by the Ruler in Council. They argue that the Federation Government will be able to acquire land for federal purposes but only with their consent. Agreement has been reached on Islam as the State religion of an independent Malaya, though Malaya will be a secular state with complete freedom of worship. Unlike Northern Nigeria, Malaya includes women in its universal franchise. Malay will be the official and national language. The Rulers uphold the decision of the Reid Commission on the continuation of Malay rights and privileges, which will be the responsibility of the Paramount Ruler. These rights include a proportion of three to one in the higher administrative posts of the Civil Service—three Malays to one member of any other race—and a similar arrangement for the granting of Government scholarships for higher education.

Malaya will be a unique member of the Commonwealth; the Queen, though recognised as the Head of the Commonwealth, will not be the Head of State of the Federation. Yet Malaya will not be a republic but a monarchy. The Nine Rulers will choose from themselves by secret ballot who will hold office for five years as Paramount Ruler.

The terms of the defence agreement between the United Kingdom Government and the Federation have already been published.<sup>2</sup> A significant

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, June 4, 1957.

<sup>2</sup> *Venture*, February, 1957.



sentence may have been overlooked: *'They (British and Commonwealth troops) will be subject to the same civil criminal jurisdiction as the Federation forces.'* Asian opinion is very sensitive about Western bases on Asian soil.

The folly of the American policy of maintaining extra-territorial rights and special privileges in overseas bases has been high-lighted recently by the riots in Formosa and the destruction of the American Embassy as the result of the acquittal by an American court martial of an American sergeant who had shot a Chinese dead. Also a furore has been aroused both in Japan and the U.S. over the question of whether a U.S. soldier charged with the accidental killing of a Japanese woman should or should not be handed over for trial to a Japanese court under terms of the status of forces agreement. It is essential that the stationing of British troops in Malaya, at the request of the Federal Government, as long as the threat of Communist terrorists continues, should not lead to incidents that could disrupt friendly relations.

## ELECTIONS IN ZANZIBAR

**P**ATTERNS of constitutional development in the Commonwealth are multiplying with such rapidity that it is difficult to keep pace. Zanzibar is to have its first direct elections in July, for six out of twelve unofficial members of Legislative Council. There are to be six single member constituencies with elections on a common roll franchise, with certain qualifications. The remaining six unofficial members are to be nominated by the Sultan, from among persons who have been proposed by not fewer than 100 electors, none of whom has proposed any other person. This unusual arrangement was evolved when it was decided to reject seeking nominations from communal or racial bodies. It was felt that these would be contrary to the spirit which prompted acceptance of a common roll for the elected members. So although some nominations may prove to be racial in character, it is not constitutionally required that they should be.

One hopes very much that the Zanzibaris will set an example to other East African territories and elect people for personality and principles, not race. The Nationalist Party is multi-racial, mainly under Arab leadership, and has fought strongly for common roll principles. But although the electorate is confined to Zanzibar citizens, there is much coming and going between the islands and the mainland. The mainlanders are mostly Africans, who have strong black African consciousness and who feel no particular allegiance towards the Arab leaders in Zanzibar. There are signs that they are stirring up some of the Zanzi-

baris of African descent and are trying to instil racial ideas. If they succeed and the contests are fought on racial lines, it will be a most regrettable setback. There are numerous improvements needed in Zanzibar for the benefit of all races.

Constitutionally, an early next step should be to turn the three unofficial members of Executive Council who are 'associated with' certain departments into proper Ministers. The present half-way house does not seem satisfactory.

## NIGERIAN CONFERENCE

**T**HE most controversial issue to date has been the creation of new States. Agreement has been reached to set up a Commission to enquire into the fears of minorities anywhere in Nigeria and to make proposals to allay them, including 'in the last resort' recommendations for the creation of new States. Her Majesty's Government is, however, under any circumstances, opposed to the creation of more than one such additional State in any one region. It is left to the Secretary of State and the Federal and Regional Governments, when the Commission's findings are received, to decide whether it is necessary to reconvene the Conference on this issue. In the meantime the implementation of the promise of regional self-government for the East and West is to proceed without further delay, though no doubt a proviso has been included to prevent the throwing up of impossible barriers to later subdivisions.

On the face of it this agreement might be taken as a victory for those who oppose the creation of more states. The Commission's terms of reference must force it to approach the subject with extreme caution, and the procedure laid down for consideration of the findings indicate that the matter might possibly be settled at top level without further reference to the minorities. Yet the situation is not so definitive as it might seem. The very setting up of such a Commission is a triumph for the new States supporters, in view of the earlier determination of the Northern Government to shelve the whole subject. The fact that, whatever he felt about the rights and wrongs of it, Mr. Lennox-Boyd was willing to risk a loss of goodwill at the outset by insisting that the subject must be ventilated at an early stage and in the context of regional self-government must have given great satisfaction to the minority representatives. Moreover, it is believed to be unlikely that unanimity between the Regional Governments will be achieved if the Commission recommends new States and the North still opposes, so that a further meeting of the full Conference is likely to take place before final decisions are taken.



# Economic Aid

## Labour Party Colonial Policy Pamphlet

THE pamphlet<sup>1</sup> opens with a restatement of the theme that the old *laissez-faire* in the colonies has left behind it a legacy of poverty and backwardness which we have an obligation to relieve. It underlines that in spite of the forward-looking policies of the post-war Labour Government, this poverty still persists. 'Britain to-day is hardly a paradise for many of its workers. Yet the average annual income per head here is £300, compared with £60 in Jamaica, about £18 in Kenya, and a mere £13 in Tanganyika.'

The 1945 Labour Government, before real advances in the social and economic fields could be made, had to create all the machinery of research, survey, and statistical record. This it did, and as a result much progress has been made in the development of the public services. But if that progress is to be continued and accelerated, it must be accompanied by planned economic development stimulated by large-scale grants and loans, and integrated with social progress. Private capital investors are attracted mainly by the high profit extractive industries, and little interested in slower and more balanced long-term development. Other, and Socialist, means must therefore be found. To find these means, however, involves facing facts. It is no use voting money for the colonies without making the physical resources for development available from our own production; and this means either holding back personal consumption in this country by taxation or other means or reducing items of government expenditure.

### Building the Social Base

The second chapter contains a description of the steps taken to remedy colonial backwardness since 1940. It describes the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts and the contributions made through these channels by the British government. But even though these were greatly augmented in 1945, they have amounted since that time (Appendix C) to an average of only 2s. 8d. per head of colonial population per year. By far the greater burden of colonial development since the war has fallen on the local colonial governments. 'By 1954, for example, 34 colonies had between them received £88m. in grants under the 1945 Act, compared with a total cost of nearly £527m. for their development plans. The balance has had to be borrowed or raised locally.' And the execution of these plans for the provision of the necessary social capital itself brings in its train the head-ache of increasing maintenance costs, a problem which can only be cured by economic advance. Where colonial governments have tried to raise loans, they have had to compete with more attractive and lucrative industrial offers; and in any

case 'loans carrying anything like a 5 per cent. rate of interest, are not appropriate for the financing of social services which earn no revenue.' The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development similarly is ill-suited by its terms of reference to finance the social bases of development, and though it has helped a number of colonies with economic survey missions, only 1.4 per cent. of its £800m. investments has found the way to British colonies. The United Nations Technical Aid agencies have done most valuable work with the funds at their disposal, but 'in view of all the help we have received from these agencies we can look with shame on the miserly contributions which British governments have made.' In 1956 our contribution was only £800,000. 'The next Labour government faces three responsibilities: first, to increase our direct grants for social investment in the colonies; secondly, to give more generous support to United Nations technical assistance work, and thirdly, to see that the colonies are not starved of the financial help needed for economic development.'

### Are we Doing Enough?

The pamphlet stresses the all-important part played by primary commodity prices in the economies of the colonial territories. It draws attention to the damage done to colonial economies between the wars by the wild fluctuations in world prices, and underlines the easement and new stability brought about in the territories by the post-war Government's policy of long-term agreements and bulk-purchases. It admits that the United Kingdom also benefited by these agreements, but contends that the gains were mutual. The Conservative Government's dismantling of this machinery in the interests of private traders at a time of falling world prices is deplored as is their failure to give support to the efforts of the United Nations' agencies to work out a system of international commodity control. The next Labour Government therefore will actively press for international action in this field, and in the meantime will revert to its former policies of long-term agreements and bulk purchases.

Private capital investment has failed to meet the colonies' needs, and although the bulk of public investment from outside has come from the United Kingdom, to a considerable extent through the Colonial Development Corporation, this is more than offset by the fact that while we have been lending to the colonies on long term, they have been lending to us on a much greater scale short term, through the accumulation of their sterling balances. 'Instead of our financing the colonies, they have financed us.' To remedy this, Britain will have to step up her net capital exports and permit the effective use by the poorer members of the sterling area of their accumulated balances for purchase in this country of equipment and consumer goods.

<sup>1</sup> Labour's Colonial Policy, II. *Economic Aid*. Price 9d.



The pamphlet supports the idea of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, based on the principle of the contribution of 1 per cent. of the national income of all the member nations, as a channel for aid to under-developed areas, and declares that the next Labour Government will immediately announce its willingness to make its own contribution. It will, however, be some years before S.U.N.F.E.D. can fully engage resources on this scale. A Labour Government 'would therefore at once announce plans to expand British aid by allocating an average of 1 per cent. of our national income over a period of years as Britain's contribution to the development of backward and colonial territories through existing government, United Nations and other appropriate agencies.' In present-day terms this figure would be about £160m. a year.

The pamphlet devotes a chapter to the functions of the Colonial Development Corporation.<sup>1</sup> Labour Party policy will be to 'take steps to change the Corporation's constitution to enable it to become the main instrument of public investment in colonial

under-developed areas. It will also create an instrument available to the emerging territories who still need capital and practical assistance during the early years of their independence and will equip it with adequate finance and powers for its role.'

In conclusion the pamphlet urges the formulation of comprehensive economic development plans by the territories themselves, and defines and delineates the place of private enterprise in development. In this connection, it underlines the important role of the Trade Unions, and the assistance that has been, and will be, given by the T.U.C. and the I.C.F.T.U. It stresses particularly the great importance of the development and support of a vigorous colonial co-operative movement. 'To British Socialists the task of meeting the economic needs of our colonies is a major challenge of our time. . . It calls for all the vigour and skill of our scientists, economists, technicians and workers; not least for the dedication and courage of our labour movement. For the task is not easy and will require the co-operation and understanding of the whole British people.'

## Uganda Visited

By Dr. HORACE KING, M.P.\*

IT is almost superfluous to say that Uganda presents a complex political problem, for every country in the world is bafflingly complex, unless the blight of totalitarianism has blotted out its rich variety of movements and men.

There are about five and a half million Africans in Uganda,<sup>2</sup> and over one million of these live in Buganda—Buganda was the first part with which the white man made intimate contact. It became the home of the administrative capital, Entebbe, and the commercial capital, Kampala. Cash crops were cultivated there, and trading enterprises flourished, ahead of the rest of Uganda. The British made their political ties with Buganda first, and almost sought to impose a kind of Buganda-British rule over the other kingdoms and tribes. Trained Baganda were appointed as subordinate officers to the British District Commissioners up and down Uganda. The rest of the people did not like this, and gradually the expatriate Baganda were supplanted by local chiefs.

Moreover, at the beginning of this century the British, wisely no doubt, 'froze' the geographical boundaries of the various tribes and kingdoms. No longer was a tribe able to settle its land-hunger by seizing part of another tribe's land. This freezing of the borders occurred at a favourable moment for the Baganda, who had just won a war on their

Western Front against Bunyoro, and had seized two counties. Bunyoro has always regarded the victory as a temporary one, and the lost provinces as a kind of Alsace-Lorraine.

Similarly, south of Bunyoro in Toro, I was assured by the chiefs that many of their kinsfolk dwell in part of the Belgian Congo, and that part of their land was wrongly carved out of the British Protectorate at the end of last century, when the 'grab for Africa' was in full swing.

### The Great Lukiko

Most important of all is the fact that Buganda is highly developed politically. Other areas had their lukikos, or parliaments of chiefs, but Buganda has, and has had for an unknown but no doubt very long period, its Great Lukiko, a Parliament which meets to advise the Kabaka or king, and governs the Baganda.

Britain has always made much of the Great Lukiko and its Kabaka, and the recent unfortunate chain of events has added to their power and prestige. The Government of Uganda has handed over a considerable measure of power to the Lukiko of Buganda. It now deals, for example, with the whole of primary education in the province of Buganda. It has always had a Prime Minister; it now has several Ministers. I had a long talk with them. They take their work seriously and, one would hope, will make a good job of it. For, in a way, the Ministers of Buganda have to prove, just as Ghana has to prove, that Africans can govern wisely and well.

Unfortunately they have grievances, some real, some imaginary. Buganda is, so far, the richest part

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<sup>1</sup> For a thorough examination of the C.D.C. refer to *Colonial Development Corporation* by C. W. Dumbleton, Fabian Colonial Bureau, 1s. 6d., and *Venture*, March, 1957.

\* Dr. King was a member of the recent Commonwealth Parliamentary Association delegation.

<sup>2</sup> There are also 50,000 Asians and 8,000 Europeans.



# **The Labour Party and Central Africa**

## **I. POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION**

By Sir L. UNGOED-THOMAS, Q.C., M.P. and JOHN HATCH

**E**NDING his speech on the second reading of the Federation Bill in 1953, Earl Attlee, then Leader of the Opposition, said: '... that if this becomes the law of the land it is the duty of all of us to try and make it work to the best of our ability.' This declaration, coming after Labour's bitter fight against federation, has been widely quoted, usually misunderstood and often feared.

### **Africans Look to Labour**

Meanwhile, during the four years since this debate took place the opposition which African organisations expressed to federation has steadily grown. This opposition, particularly in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has increasingly directed itself into channels the end of which is seen to be the disintegration of the federal state and the resumption of a completely separate status for the two northern territories. Because, first, it was the Labour Party which consistently fought and voted against the Federal Scheme in Parliament; and then again because it was the Labour Party in publishing its programme *The Plural Society* which categorically stated ' (1) that ultimately the people of each of the colonial territories have the right to determine which particular form of constitution (perhaps some entirely new form) best suits their own requirements; and (2) that the best way of giving the people of each colony the opportunity of deciding that final form of constitution they desire is to provide for the election of representatives by universal adult suffrage on the principle of "one person one vote".' Africans in Central Africa have tended to look to the next Labour Government as their salvation from the grip which they see their white settlers fixing upon them through federation.

In short, the Africans of this region see a paradox in the Labour Party's attitude toward federation. They fear that the Party is committed to supporting the existence of federation; they hope that the next Labour Government will destroy the federal state.

This paradox is based upon a double misapprehension. In the first place, Earl Attlee's statement has to be read in the context of the Federation debates. It was, in fact, part of a sentence in which he was urging that federation should be delayed until some tangible signs had been shown of an intention to base the new state on genuine racial equality. When he stated that it was the duty of the Opposition to observe the law of the land, he was simply stating a fact. At the same time the Opposition based its whole attitude to federation on its interpretation of that law. In particular, it consistently argued that the only way federation could succeed would be by closely observing that section of the

Preamble to the federal constitution which states that the Federation 'in particular would foster partnership and co-operation between their inhabitants.'

The word 'partnership' has been widely used and abused in connection with the federal state. The Labour Party interprets it as meaning a free and equal association between individuals without consideration of race or colour. There was some reason to believe that Lord Chandos, then Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, also at least recognised that federation could only be successful if racial discrimination were removed by it. In the final debate on the Federation Order in Council he had this to say: 'But if the present discrimination . . . is believed to be an integral part of European thought regarding the Africans, then the chances of building a multi-racial society will indeed be small and the essay on which we are now starting to build such a society will fall in ruins about our heads and about the heads of those whom we are trying to lead towards democratic institutions.'

Therefore, in pledging itself to try and make federation successful if it became law, the Labour Party was, in fact, aiming to use all its influence in order to lead the federal state towards a completely democratic structure in which all its inhabitants would have equal political rights regardless of race or colour. No other result could be considered a success.

### **Fears of Federation Realised**

During the ensuing four years certain signs of progress may be discerned, but most of the fears expressed by Labour's leaders in opposing federation have equally been realised. Certain relaxations of discrimination are gradually being accepted in both Rhodesias. Some progress is being made in African promotions in industry. The new university in Salisbury may well play an important part in developing inter-racial contact and understanding. Yet all this is seen by Africans as a cipher compared with the rapid progress toward white political domination which federation has brought. Federal leaders declare publicly that genuine democracy will never come to Central Africa and that the most that the six million Africans can ever expect is a half share of power with the 200,000 Europeans. Nor are Africans blind to the fact that these same federal leaders are denounced by some of their fellow whites as dangerously liberal. The Dominion Party, for example, which has recently won an important by-election in a representative constituency, and now has three members in the Federal Assembly, proclaims



a form of apartheid as its policy.<sup>1</sup>

The reaction of the politically conscious Africans is to denounce federation outright, to demand that the federal state be split up again into its component parts and to look to the next Labour Government to achieve this on their behalf. This is unrealistic. Politics is the art of the possible, and in British constitutional practice certain things are not possible. Once a degree of power has been deliberately transferred into other hands it can only be withdrawn in exceptional circumstances. Unless the Federation were to be involved in an extreme crisis it is highly improbable that any future Labour Government would be in a position to restore the pre-1953 situation, however much its members might like to do so. It is imperative, therefore, that the situation be reviewed realistically so that the African leaders and their organisations can apply their energies to a policy which has some hope of success.

### Ultimate Sovereignty with U.K.

The fact that a future Labour Government would almost surely find itself unable to break up the Federation does not imply that it would have no powers at all. It should be quite clear that ultimate sovereignty still rests with Her Majesty's Government and the United Kingdom Parliament. Lord Chandos made this clear in 1953 when he said in answer to a question: 'Legally the functions of Parliament will remain unchanged, even in matters within the competence of the Federal Government.' This implies that if the powers of the Federal Government were abused, Her Majesty's Government could legally withdraw them. What is more, the federal constitution can be amended only by special procedure of the federal legislature, and then only after the signification of Her Majesty's Pleasure, given after consultation with her Ministers, or by Order in Council, which must be laid before the United Kingdom Parliament, or by Act of the United Kingdom Parliament. It should be made perfectly clear, therefore, that the British Parliament still holds final power to amend the federal constitution. It is particularly important to make this point here in view of the declaration recently made by Sir Roy Welensky and Her Majesty's Government. That declaration binds no British Government whatsoever so far as its limitation of British legislative power is concerned. Lord Chandos again made this clear in 1953 when he said: 'Her Majesty's Government and, in certain circumstances Parliament, have the last word on constitutional amendments. This Government and future Governments will be under an obligation not so to amend it unless they are satisfied that a numerical majority of the people concerned are in favour of it.' This is a clear and unequivocal safeguard against, first, an amalgamation of the territories, and, second, granting the federal state any further powers so long as the majority of its inhabitants are opposed to them.

What is more, the African Affairs Board, which has so far been almost ignored, was specifically set up to see that any aspect of discriminatory legislation could be vetoed by British action. This certainly applies to any form of franchise which would discriminate against Africans on property, income or any other grounds. This power could certainly be used much more effectively than hitherto.

A Labour Government, therefore, would use what constitutional powers it has in the Federation much more actively than has been done by Conservative Governments in order to develop the democratic rights of all the inhabitants of Central Africa. But it will have a much more direct influence in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland where its actions could coincide more closely with African policy. The British Government still has full constitutional scope in these territories, and in both there is a wide opportunity for increasing the democratic character of legislature and government. Greater African representation in the Legislative Councils, the progressive introduction of common rolls and the inclusion of Africans in the Executive Councils all come within the orbit of direct British policy. It is here that African energies can best be spent. This is particularly important in view of the constitutional conference to be held in 1960. This conference will review and may amend the federal constitution. It will be composed of the three territorial governments, the Federal Government and the British Government. If, between now and 1960, by joint African and British pressure the democratic character of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland can be increased, then there is some hope that at the 1960 conference African representatives themselves will be present to state their views on the future of the Federation. This will only come about if the policy of those Africans and Europeans who believe in democracy is concentrated during the next three years on developing the Northern Rhodesian and Nyasaland constitutions so as to represent more justly the inhabitants of those two territories.

Britain is in danger of dividing her colonial policy in two. In West Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, where the white-black relationship plays little part, the development of democratic representation, responsible government and eventual independence proceeds apace. In East and Central Africa, where white settlement has been encouraged, British policy has dangerously tended to leave the path of democratic development and to shore up the privilege of white minorities. The Africans in Central Africa are asking for nothing more than the application of the clearly expressed British colonial principles practised in other parts of the world. The Labour Party has pledged itself unconditionally to this path of democratic development in its statement *The Plural Society*. Whilst it would be unrealistic to expect future Labour Governments to be able to return to the pre-1953 situation, the aim and object of Labour's colonial policy on Central Africa is clearly stated. What is now required is that the supporters of democracy in Central Africa and in Britain should work together towards these aims.

<sup>1</sup> See footnote, page 8.



## II. FOUR YEARS OF FEDERATION

By THE RT. HON. A. J. CREECH-JONES, M.P.

IT is important to look at what has happened since Federation and to observe the policies enunciated by the European leaders. That the Ministers of the Federation have a delicate job in retaining their hold on European opinion and leading it against the considerable reactionary elements among them is admitted. They emphasise that their policy is liberal and that it can only be applied with the goodwill and consent of public (i.e. European) opinion, a large constituent part of the European population being drawn from the Union of South Africa. A period of less than four years is too short for dramatic developments. Nevertheless, apartheid has been resisted and the policy of segregation in Southern Rhodesia modified. If the pass laws have not been repealed a beginning is being made for certain categories of Africans which under conditions gives them a freedom of movement they did not have before. The Industrial Conciliation Act may still be on the statute book, but that is to be enquired into and concessions are being made to African trade union rights by conceding their eligibility for membership of European trade unions. The validity and reality of such rights even if the trade unions open their doors may prove questionable: and the limitations on skilled employment remain, as well as those on training and apprenticeship, based on the colour bar. The colour convention is still imposed on the footplate on Rhodesian railways, though not in Nyasaland, Kenya and the Congo, and in the Copperbelt, in spite of the Constitution's preamble, the removal of discrimination in certain higher reaches of the civil service and the valuable initiative by Sir Ronald Prain in the prising open of the door for the admission to more responsible and superior work in the copper mines and his Development Fund for improving the northern territories.

### Grudging Advances

If the Land Apportionment Act in S. Rhodesia has not made concessions to Africans and hundreds of Africans are removed from their holdings every year, at least a University College has been started with the only restriction on Africans of separate hostels and dining halls. And some of the discriminations in administration and social convention have also been reduced and an innocuous Bill in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature respecting racial discrimination has been passed, though neither in Lusaka or Salisbury is there any chance for black African M.P.'s to lunch or dine with their white colleagues. The changes mentioned appear small to Africans in the absence of any dramatic effort by the Government to implement the doctrine of partnership. The Federal Parliament is for all practical purposes an assembly of Europeans, and throughout the Federation it controls many major powers and all economic development. So far as the territorial Parliaments are concerned no African sits in the Southern Rhodesian legislature, and their representa-

tion is no more than a small minority in the other two territories with no seat in the Governors' Executive Councils, although these Governments exist primarily to protect African rights and promote their welfare.

A number of political problems must now be solved as African nationalism becomes more dynamic and knowledge and experience among them increases. The basis of the franchise in Southern Rhodesia (where hitherto prohibitive qualifications have excluded Africans from the common voting roll) has been considered by the Tredgold Commission, and its report recommending a two-system arrangement on a common roll and a qualified value for what are virtually African votes, is now before the Southern Rhodesian Government.<sup>1</sup>

### Grudging Franchise

Meantime, the Federation has enacted legislation which vitally concerns the Africans of the Protectorates. Being protected persons and not British subjects they have been until now denied access to the common roll in Northern Rhodesia. Now they may become, without payment of fee, British subjects by declaring their allegiance to the Crown. It is natural that few Africans wish in the light of their continuing opposition to the Federation to alter their status as protected persons in favour of Federal citizenship. But it is now accepted that they should not be debarred from exercising the franchise, either in the Federation or the Territories, because of protected status. It is now the other factors of the franchise which have become the major issues regarding the exercise of the vote.

A Bill has recently been introduced by the Federal Government to enlarge the Federal Assembly.

The membership of the Federal Assembly is to be expanded from 35 to 59, of which 52 will be directly elected. A two-tier franchise is proposed under which the upper roll, with qualifications so high as to ensure complete European dominance in all constituencies where it is used, will elect 44 members; and in the other eight seats, which are to be reserved for Africans, these same upper roll voters will vote alongside those qualifying for a much easier lower roll on which as many as four or five per cent. of adult Africans may gain a place. In addition, two Africans from each of the northern territories, nominated by the Governor after indirect election from African Councils, will have seats, and the European members 'representing African interests,' elected by the upper roll in Southern Rhodesia and nominated by the Governor in the other territories, will be retained.

With only 12 Africans in a legislature of 59, and with the proportionate number of Africans increased

<sup>1</sup> *Venture*, May, 1957, page 1.



only from a sixth to a still safe fifth of the total, it might be thought that the Europeans would feel secure. But, in theory, the 44 seats filled by the voters on the upper roll can be won by persons of any race, and lest the improbable should happen provision has been made in the Bill to nullify its effect. For every African thus elected, a deduction will be made, first from the number of seats reserved for elected Africans, then, when these are exhausted, from those for nominated Africans, and finally from those of the Europeans representing African interests. The purpose of this arrangement is said to be the gradual elimination of purely racial representation. Its effects are to reduce progressively the representation of the lower roll Africans, and to ensure European domination of the Assembly for a generation or more ahead. Moreover, the otherwise inexplicable retention of semi-nominated Africans from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland smells suspiciously of a desire to learn from recent experience in Kenya and keep African opinion in the legislature divided.

### The African Affairs Board

In regard to the Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the reconstruction of these bodies is long overdue, and the Africans are right in declaring that the existing situation is intolerable. Their claim for at least parity in representation and their right to seats on the Executive Councils ought by now to be acknowledged. Again there is need for an African member in the Federal Executive as well as for bringing into effective play the African Affairs Board, created to consider legislation as it affects Africans. The intention was that the Board should report to the Governor-General on legislation considered detrimental to African interests, such legislation to be reserved for Her Majesty's consent. From the beginning the Board was of dubious value with three African representatives on a Board of ten. The power of disallowance has never operated in Southern Rhodesia and the Federation Board has given no sign of life. It is imperative, then, that these constitutional problems, with the question of the franchise, should be dealt with urgently.

Meantime, the Africans are confronted with the discouraging speeches of the European political leaders. They note that everything is done to denigrate the responsible spokesmen of Labour in the British Parliament and to denounce the authority exercised in London because of the colonial responsibilities and duties of protection reposed in the Imperial Government. They read in their local press the sinister declarations of local Ministers to both European and African audiences. Not at any future time is a democracy to be established whatever safeguards for the Europeans may be written into the constitution or rightly embodied in treaties. And they see the Federal Prime Minister coming to London and achieving concessions which make final independence of the Federation much easier for him. London agrees with him that his Office shall announce the Governor-General, that he should have a permanent seat at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, that he should have direct access to the Queen, that he should appoint his diplo-

mat to courts overseas, that the civil service should be transformed into a local service, and the administrators steadily withdrawn.

It is clear from the statements of both British and Federation ministers and also of the Conservative Press that they consider that progress to independence should be accelerated and finality in the constitutional process clinched before the General Election in Britain. It is feared that a Labour Government will be returned. Much is heard about the desirability of a bipartisan policy, of an immediate declaration of Labour policy regarding the future of federation and of Labour's answer to African agitators. It is true that the propaganda of the Africans is charged with resentment and bitterness because of the discriminations loaded against them, and the frustration caused by their enforced political futility. The bold implementation by Ministers of a more liberal policy for genuine partnership is unlikely now to lessen the tension or create a co-operative atmosphere. Obviously it will be difficult for any Government to unscramble the eggs which have been broken to make federation or to disentangle the services and to make viable the three territories. Nyasaland herself has benefited by the distribution of federation revenues, and African services are being improved by this gain. But African fears are not allayed when they hear that development will proceed according to the European pattern, and traditional African rights cannot remain unaffected by profound economic changes over which they have no control.

The division between federal and territorial powers should be reviewed and consideration given to the devolution of responsibility from federal to territorial control for subjects such as all branches of agriculture, immigration and higher education, which strike at the roots of African life. A reversion of these powers from the centre to the territories might go far to reconcile the Africans to the federal situation which has been forced on them.

The next few years are critical years. If they add to the bitterness and opposition of the Africans, if an enlightened policy in the territories and the Federation is not pursued, if government policy here and in Central Africa is dominated by the idea of a permanent European political ascendancy, the deliberations in 1960 will have the gravest consequences. It may be premature to pronounce on the prospects of the Federation then, but African nationalism is resourceful and the best interests of Africa and the Commonwealth lie in a just implementation of the concepts of democracy.

### FOOTNOTE

On June 6th, 1957 a Federal by-election took place in Southern Rhodesia. It was won by M. Field, the Dominion Party candidate, the main plank in whose programme was his charge that Sir Roy Welensky, by agreeing during the London talks that the Federal franchise should be open to British protected persons in N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland as well as British subjects, had sold out the white man and opened the way for the Federal Parliament to be swamped by African members.



## Uganda Visited

(Continued from page 4)

of Uganda. Central Government tries to share out the national income fairly, which means that Buganda is contributing to the development of the three other provinces. This is good sound policy, but naturally does not appeal to rich Buganda. They find that the services handed over to them, such as education and health, cost more each year, whereas the grants received from Central Government are roughly fixed at the amount expended in the year when the services were handed over. So at the moment, the Ministers are demanding more money from the Central Government.

They are also not satisfied with the powers allocated to them. They want more. They want everything. Power, for example, to inflict capital sentences in their law courts. The vernacular newspapers of Buganda clamour for the complete independence of Buganda.

Now those in the Western, Northern and Eastern Provinces are not too happy about the favoured position of Buganda. In Toro, the Batoro asked me why they could not have Ministers like those in Buganda. One Toro group even wanted both a House of Commons and a House of Lords for Toro, which has a population of not much over 100,000.

Recent debates in the Legislative Council show that Africans from other parts resent the claim of Baganda to superiority over other peoples. Some of them fear that self-government for Uganda might mean government of Uganda by Buganda.

### Progress at Jinja

But the economic and political supremacy of Buganda is temporary. I was tremendously impressed by developments in the Eastern Province. Jinja, the home of electric power and young flourishing industries, will in time supplant Kampala as the commercial capital of Uganda. And in time the backward peoples of the three other provinces will move towards twentieth-century standards.

The African political parties of course minimise the inter-African tensions. Fear of the Baganda, the bright young Baganda say, is an invention of the British to keep Uganda divided. An interesting example is Dr. Kununka, one of the leaders of the National Congress Party, a member of the Legislative Council, where he represents part of Buganda. But he was born in the 'lost provinces' of Bunyoro, and is regarded by his own Bunyoro people as having let them down. He lightly assured me that such questions as that of the 'lost provinces' were details which would solve themselves when Uganda had achieved self-government.

The largest political party is the National Congress Party. Its political programme is self-government at once, and a federation of states of Uganda. The proposal of a federation pleases every little unit, which sees itself as enjoying a kind of freedom similar to that in the days when tribes went their own way. Against these demands the policy of the

Government is: self-government only when the African is really fit for it, and Uganda must remain a unitary state.

No one can doubt that the latter point is a right one. Even if there could be just four federated states, the administrative burden would be uneconomical. But it would not be a question of four only. The arguments for breaking into four are equally valid for breaking up the Western Province into at least three—Toro, Bunyoro and Ankole, with (remember?) a House of Lords for Toro.

Perhaps the third important political question is that of Federation with Kenya and Tanganyika. I am certain that political parties are deliberately exploiting this. Indeed, keen young Africans told me so. Kenya has become to simple folk in Uganda a symbol of white man's domination, and any move towards federation means to them an extension of the white man's rule. Incidentally, the white men in Kenya, or at least the most ignorant of them, react in exactly the same way. Any move towards federation means to them linking up with Uganda, which they know will one day be an African state.

This anti-federation feeling is so strong that Africans in Uganda suspect every instance of services being held in common for the good of both countries. The Baganda did not want the Uganda Electricity Board to sell electricity to North Kenya. (Some reactionaries in Kenya didn't want to buy it!)

And so an eminent Muganda (Muganda is the singular of Baganda, which means the people of Buganda) has been refused by the African members, his rightful seat in the Buganda Parliament, on the grounds that he is a member of the East Africa High Commission.

But all this touches only the fringe of the real problems of Uganda. Nationalism is such an all-consuming flame in the world to-day—and in Africa especially, with young and free Ghana calling from the west, and blind and reactionary South Africa frightening from the south—that the real problems are lost in cries of 'freedom, freedom, freedom.'

The fundamental problems of Uganda are economic, social, commercial. There is no doubt that Uganda will be free before its people are ready for freedom. (Who in the world is really ready for this hardest form of government, democracy?) The tasks of the Western World are twofold, to help to build the economy of such countries as Uganda so that they may stand the vicissitudes of climate, the impact of the world outside, and provide an ever-higher material standard of living for their people. The other need is to prepare the people of Uganda for the responsibilities that lie ahead.

Education is the key to Africa's problems. And the African is hungry for education. I saw children being taught in mud huts—so keen were their parents that they could not wait for the new school being built on the hill near the village. I talked with the Minister of Education for Buganda about his shortage of teachers, shortage of school places, wastage from even the primary school education of four years which is not universal, and certainly not free, even in the advanced province of Buganda.



# Parliament and the Colonies

**MR. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD** opened an important debate on racial policy in the Central African Federation, Kenya and Tanganyika on 4th June. On the introduction of elections in Tanganyika, he said that the Legislature had now unanimously agreed to have elections in all constituencies, but spread over two years. In reply to an intervention by Mr. Fenner Brockway he said that the restrictions on the Tanganyika African National Union were not being withdrawn.

In Kenya he was bound not to initiate steps to alter the communal system of elections before 1960, unless there was agreement between the three races. In reply to a question by Mr. R. T. Paget he said that he felt it would be just as much a breach of the undertakings that had been given to start preliminary talks as to have the actual substantive talks if they came from Government initiative alone. He went on to announce an increase in membership of the Federal Assembly in Salisbury (details of this are given in the article, 'Four Years of Federation' on page 7 of this issue.)

**Mr. Callaghan** said that the economic advancement of the Central African territories was astonishing, but antagonism to Federation was as great as, or greater than, it had been in the beginning. He instanced the proposal of the Catholic community in Lusaka to set up a multi-racial college for boys over 15 and the abandonment of the scheme after a speech by Mr. Greenfield in which he had said that it was Government policy not to extend multi-racial education below university level. Mr. Callaghan said he could not refute the argument of Africans that had there been no Federation they would have been free to go ahead with the school under the old Colonial Office administration. If Sir Roy Welensky and his ministers could not overcome African opposition before 1960 the future of Federation, whatever might be said dogmatically about its being settled policy, could not be regarded as such by a great many people in Britain. Mr. Callaghan criticised the attitude of the Colonial Office to the African National Congresses; if the Native Authority chiefs showed sympathy with Congress they lost favour with the District Commissioners, but if they spurned Congress they lost contact with a great many of their own people. These Chiefs formed an electoral college to elect members to the Legislative Assembly, which was a political act, yet, at the bottom, they were being asked to divorce themselves from politics and be neutral. **Mr. Lennox-Boyd** intervened to say that the Northern Rhodesia African Congress and the Nyasaland African Congress were recognised as bodies representing African opinion and as such he had met their leaders the previous year. When **Mr. Callaghan** welcomed this statement and hoped it would be brought to the attention of the Federal Prime Minister who had recently described these Congresses as seditious, **Mr. Lennox-Boyd** replied that the fact that he had seen their leaders did not mean that they were not seditious bodies. **Mr. Callaghan** commented that either they were responsible bodies, or they were seditious; they could not be

both. The Colonial Secretary had said they were bodies which could represent African opinion, which was a sensible view and he hoped that in his haste to defend the Federal Prime Minister he would not rush into saying that they were at the same time seditious.

**Mr. Ronald Williams** said that it would be very wrong if the debate passed without some very clear, straight things being said about the situation in Northern Rhodesia. The Government declared an Emergency and thought fit to arrest 54 African leaders, mostly trade unionists. They were taken from their beds in the middle of the night and many of them were beaten. Even more disturbing facts had emerged. Then men detained had writs of *habeas corpus* issued, because their arrest had not been carried out in accordance with the Emergency laws. The shocking thing was that the Government did not, as they would have been justified in doing, bring in an indemnity bill to protect the officials concerned. Instead they brought in one of the most astonishing measures he had ever seen in times of peace, enabling a commissioner to sit in camera and call before him any citizen to show cause why he should not be subject to a restriction order. There they had a Tribunal actually sitting where he presumption in effect was that a citizen was guilty unless he proved his innocence. These were questions of fact, not of opinion. What had occurred out there to justify a complete reversal of a fundamental principle of English law? He begged the Colonial Secretary to look further into this and take steps to prevent Britain's name being further besmirched.

There was worse to come. While the African leaders were in detention, the Branigan Commission was set up to inquire into the causes of the industrial unrest which gave rise to the emergency. Here was a fine opportunity for multi-racialism in practice, for there was a great fund of legal experience among Africans, some of it at chief justice level. An experienced African judge could have been brought on to the Commission whose word would have carried weight with the Africans as well as with Europeans, but that opportunity was not taken. Nor was a single trade unionist a member. And what a mockery such a commission was, from the standpoint of the Africans, when the opportunities for the two sides, employers and Africans, to present their cases were so unequal. Whether justice was done or not, it manifestly appeared not to be done. That was the sort of thing that made nonsense of fine speeches in the House of Commons. They had forfeited a great deal of the respect of the African.

**Mr. James Griffiths** asked for an assurance that the Government still stood by the undertaking in the preamble to the Federal Constitution that the three Central African territories could not become independent unless a majority of all the inhabitants—not the electors or the Government—so desired. **Mr. C. J. M. Alport** (Under Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations) replied that this undertaking still stood.



# Guide to Books . . .

## Co-operation in India

### Co-operative Banking in India

By G. M. Laud (Co-operators' Book Depot, Bombay, 42s.).

### Agricultural Marketing in India (Vol. 1).

By K. R. Kulkarni (Co-operators' Book Depot, Bombay, 30s.).

INDIA has accepted as its goal the Socialist society. By their five-year plans, the Government of India have attempted to ensure all-round economic development on a planned basis. The Indian co-operative movement has been given the central role.

This will surprise most of us, accustomed as we are to the view generally held among British Socialists that the co-ops. are irrelevant to Socialism. It might be less surprising, were there more pamphlets which told of the contribution made by the co-operatives in the underdeveloped areas of the world. Even in India, little was written about it before the appearance in 1956 of these volumes, both of them written by Indians, following the publication of the Report of the All-India Rural Credit Committee.

Although the Committee recognised that the earlier exclusive developments in the field of co-operative credit agencies were one sided, it declared that India's greatest problem is still how best to develop new co-operative techniques in the fields of agriculture and agricultural marketing and of industry. It recommended that the Government should give special assistance to the co-operatives and should assist in the conversion of an increasing proportion of the private sector into co-operative enterprises. The recommendations of the Committee are now in the process of implementation. Each of these books is an analysis, from different points of view, of the part that the co-operatives have played in the economy of India in the past and the opportunities before them.

As long ago as 1904, the Government of India recognised that, in a land which was predominantly agricultural and yet in which famines were recurrent, the most urgent need was the better organisation of its rural economy. To meet that need, the Co-operative Credits Act, 1904, provided for the organisation of co-operative credit societies, by which the small-scale and desperately poor village farmers could be assisted. Since then they have spread throughout the country so that to-day one out of every three villages has its co-operative credit society, supported by large banking unions. Further, in recent years, with the growth of a more complex society, the need for special facilities for long-term credits has led to the establishment of Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks and non-agricultural credit agencies.

Even so, despite the growth of industry in India, more than 70 per cent. of its population still live on agriculture, and the need for developing its agricultural economy remains primary. It is for

this reason that Mr. Kulkarni regrets the earlier emphasis on co-operative credit to the exclusion of other forms of co-operation. For the illiterate Indian cultivator, as he points out, mere credit was but an additional source of borrowing that often did no more than land him still further in debt. In such circumstances, any attempt at rural reconstruction must include not only co-operative finance, but also developing co-operative techniques of supply and sale. Since the main difficulty the Government faces is the scarcity of trained and skilled personnel for agricultural marketings, Mr. Kulkarni turns, for a considerable part of his book, from the discussion of the need for and the background of rural reconstruction to the principles and functions of agricultural marketing. He promises, in a second volume, to write a guide to its practice for those who want themselves to play a part in the development of agricultural marketing which alone (he declares forthrightly) can solve the problem of the Indian cultivator and can give education and training in democratic discipline.

Mr. Laud agrees that the hitherto exclusive emphasis on credit may have been shortsighted. He, however, holds the view that those who would separate the functions of credit, supply and sale between different bodies are still mistaken. The real task for the co-operative movement is that of making co-operative credit dynamic and thereby finding the way to successful co-operative techniques in the fields of production, processing and distribution.

To reconstruct rural economy is not enough; co-operation in industry is essential. A large measure of state aid is vital if the productive strength of India is to be built up. Since by its nature, a co-operative society is one which not only promotes economic development, but also affords opportunities for training in the duties of citizenship. State aid, he therefore holds, is best channelled through co-operative agencies. For the industrial workers will thus learn a sense of financial responsibility against the time when cheap or interest-free loans come to an end.

Before reaching this conclusion, Mr. Laud examines with considerable detail the working of the co-operative credit agencies in India, and discusses at considerable length the economic background before which the co-operatives must play their part in creating the Socialist society.

If it is true, that 'a thorough understanding of the objectives and possibilities of an enterprise is essential for the creation of a sound foundation for a co-operative society' then Mr. Laud has placed his readers in his debt. They may disagree with his conclusions, but he will have given them a great deal of material upon which to base their own considered view of the value of co-operation, not only in India, but anywhere else in the world.

Tom Williams, M.P.



## They Seek a Living

By Joyce Egginton (Hutchinson, 16s.).

The West Indian immigrant population in Great Britain increases from year to year and is likely to continue increasing. No legal barrier to this immigration existing, the only ways of checking the flow would be to provide other outlets, or materially to improve economic conditions in the Caribbean. But it is precisely the closing down of other traditional outlets that has turned West Indian attention so emphatically to the United Kingdom; and as regards improvement of home standards, one of the merits of Joyce Egginton's study of West Indian migration is that she clearly shows how vastly superior even poor living conditions in London, Birmingham and Liverpool can be to those in the home towns and villages of most of the immigrants.

Her illustrations help here. One contrasting pair of photographs shows a ragged field-worker in Jamaica taking a meagre mid-day meal and a group of neatly-uniformed, smiling West Indian transport workers in London. In another photograph, a West Indian cluster of wooden shacks compares with a house in Brixton which, although it may be crowded inside, possesses an exterior of respectability and physical solidity undreamt of by the Caribbean working class.

An additional merit of the book is its demonstration that West Indians face problems while trying to settle into their English life which are just as acute as those English society may face in assimilating the immigrants. Many immigrants would not come in the first place and others would readily return, if their homelands could offer a reasonable prospect of a decent living. Poverty, not fame, is the spur which drives most of them to this country and keeps them here despite an unfriendly climate.

Charles H. Archibald

## Correspondence

### CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

To the Editor of VENTURE

Sir,—A letter by Mr. James Johnson criticising a comment in *Venture*, March, 1957, on Central African Federation cannot pass without challenge.

Mr. Johnson described the fact, which we are very pleased you did disclose, that we Africans in Central

Africa could not believe that our ultimate fate is any safer in the hands of Rhodesian white settlers than has been that of our brothers in the Union under the power of the South African white community, as being below the level that he expects and demands of informed, fair and constructive *Venture* debate. Mr. Johnson gives a long list of what has been done and what is intended to be done, which should make us feel safer in the hands of Rhodesian settlers than our brothers feel under the rule of South Africa.

It is significant that Mr. Johnson, possibly deliberately, omitted to point out that the whole scheme of Federation is a mockery of democracy, and that day-by-day statements are made by the leaders of the tiny minority group which controls the Federation, which emphasise one conclusion, that the scheme is intended to perpetuate white domination and the turning of Central Africa into a dumping ground for white immigrants. Of late democracy is being manoeuvred to achieve a set-up in which only those described as responsible and civilised (whatever those words mean) have a political say.

Partnership, which implies inequality, and which neither Mr. Johnson nor those who control our destiny on the spot have had the courage to define, is intended to become equality in a hundred or two hundred years' time, when it is hoped that Central Africa shall be well dumped with settlers to alter the present balance of numerical strength. If these facts are not sufficient to convince him why we feel unsafe, then I can only say that Mr. Johnson is doing himself and his party a great deal of harm in the eyes of Africans in Nyasaland in particular and Central Africa in general.

Mr. Johnson can rest assured that it is neither *Venture* nor the Labour Party who are stirring us up to resent oppression, but it is the inherent natural desire and determination of the people the world over to be free from the shackles of imperialism and domination. And we shall be free.

Nyasaland. M. W. Kanyama Chiume, M.L.C.

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